1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them.

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his.

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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291 mastate was worn; simply a strip with a hole in the middle for the head, and tied under each arm with a piece of string. Now many of the men
[177] have discarded the breech-cloth, and wear cotton shirts and pantaloons, buying the stuff from the traders and sewing them themselves. Others, not so far advanced, wear a shirt and a breech-cloth. Formerly the hair
302 was worn as long as it would grow, sometimes rolled up and tied behind in a knot. Some of the conservatives still stick to the old style and follow this custom yet; others of the men wear their hair in two plaits, but the majority cut it to a moderate length, and either confine it by a bright-colored handkerchief tied round the head in a roll, or wear a hat.

291 The dress of the women originally consisted of a simple petticoat (*bana*) of mastate. Very few now use this material, preferring the softer cotton cloth of the traders. The favorite color is a dark indigo-blue, with figures five or six inches across, in white. The *bana* is a simple strip of cloth wrapped round the hips, with the ends overlapping about six inches in front. It is suspended at the waist by a belt, and reaches more or less to the knees. When on a journey in rainy or muddy weather, I have seen a simple substitute. It was made of a couple of plantain leaves, stripped to a coarse fringe and wound round the waist by the midribs. With nothing above nor below it, it is the nearest approach to a fig leaf one can imagine. Only of late have the women begun to wear anything above the waist, and even now it is considered hardly necessary. Some of the women wear a sort of loose little jacket, or chemise, very low in the neck and short in the sleeves, that barely reaches the waist and only partially conceals the bosom. I have frequently seen a woman, in the habit of wearing one of these, either take it off entirely, or fan herself with it, if warm, in the presence of a number of men, and evidently innocent of improper intentions, and unaware that she was doing anything remarkable. With this scanty dress, I must do these
291 people the justice of saying that they are remarkably modest, both
834 men and women. In a year and a half of life in their country, traveling constantly with a body of them, bathing, fording rivers, living in their houses, and seeing more than strangers generally do of the intimate domestic life of the people they are among, I can only recall a single instance of carelessness, and not one of a wanton exposure of those parts of the person, that their ideas of modesty required to be kept covered.

291 The dress just described is that of the Bri-bris and Cabecars. The Tiribi men, where they do not wear pantaloons, always use the native cotton breech-cloth, never the mastate. The women wear a long strip of cotton cloth, made with a hole in the middle, like a poncho, and reaching before and behind, nearly to the ground. It is gathered up at the waist by a belt, and the edges are caused to overlap at the same time, so that the whole person is securely covered. I was also told that under this they wear a species of breech-cloth or drawers. They are much more retiring in their manner than their Bri-bri sisters; never speak

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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Clothing.—Many of the Bribri state that formerly their garments were made of beaten bark cloth, resembling the blankets which they still use for bedding, but thinner, and decorated with painted designs. These have now passed out of use, and except for blanket skirts (pl. XVIII, *b*) woven of cotton, with plain band designs in native blue dye, the Indians have adopted the cloth of civilization, roughly made into garments approximating those of their white neighbors. Regarding their dress, Gabb[13] says:

291

"Fashions in dress change even among savages, at least as civilization approaches. Formerly, the dress of the men consisted only of a breech cloth. It was made of *mastate*, or bark cloth, about a foot wide and seven or eight feet long, tapering at one end. The cloth is made by taking the inner bark of either the India rubber or another tree and beating it with a roughened stick [pl. XIX, *c*] over a log. This loosens the fiber, and renders it soft and flexible. It is then carefully washed until all the gummy matter is washed out. After drying it is rubbed a little and becomes soft and smooth to the feel. To apply the breech-cloth, the wide end is held against the belly, the remainder being passed between the legs; it is then wound around the waist and the point tucked in; the broad end then falls over in front for about a foot long, like

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The ●177 line of the proposed highway goes between 648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by [191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

[p. v-a]

3:Stone E-6 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

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As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

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Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is

121

a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

[p. v-b]

[p. vi is blank]

101 175 also various tribes from the south and the adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca.*[7] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribrí*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[18] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 648 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magistrate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[7] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.
[8] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.
[9] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.
[10] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" today. Here, various tribes, including the *Coto* were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the *Boruca*.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. As much as a year may pass without one going to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed benches.

ACCULTURATION

*Brunca*s, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose their own culture and personality. The slow acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[13] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[14] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

[p. 4-B]

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466
[132] meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some
[245] fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts
312 of the town. A small creek, with tree- or bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manza-*
na usually comprising about ten thousand
[804] square *varas*[a] [continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[a] A *vara* equals 33 inches.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, practically the only group in modern Costa Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[18] The farms are away from the village, and are generally fenced in. The fence is nearly always made with living posts,

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-ko*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) - (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods.
412 The agricultural implements of the present-
[177] day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men.
For this purpose, an implement made of cow
413 horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
243 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
palm of the hand while the metal part is
sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between
the index and the third finger. The string
goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been
borrowed from the Chiriquían (i.e., the
people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly
had homesteaded much of this area), and who
use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca*
inspiration. The cutters are frequently
decorated with lineal designs and initials (see
fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with
the right hand, the left being used to hold the
plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice
in from the fields, piling it in large baskets
called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion
(see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked,
and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or
so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed
erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank,
slightly indented in the center, is rested in the
fork with the other end against the live tree.
A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and
a banana leaf is placed between the plank and
the fork. Cane is put between the pole and
the plank. One person holds and pushes one
end of the cane and another pulls and receives
it, while a third pumps the pole up and down.
The cane is twisted to extract more juice as
it is pulled through the presser. The juice
runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a
canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed
on the ground. When the pressing is over, the
juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family
possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox.
The only one of these creatures which are
given any semblance of shelter are the
chickens, which, at night, are put in small
houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In
some households, there are dogs, which are
used for hunting, and occasionally cats and
birds. The birds are generally kept as pets,
although at times they are raised for food.

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanagira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b*–6, *c*–1). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b*–7). The majority are [439] clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

ing liquids, in the kitchen, and for carrying water to the fields or on trips. Interestingly enough, a ring base to sustain the gourd erect does not seem to be known, the vessel being placed on the ground and balanced by rocks or the legs of the *fogón*. In addition to the uses mentioned above, gourds are used as bee hives (see fig. 4, *d*), as a receptacle for the spindle whorl while making thread (see fig. 5, *c*), for carrying seed when planting, and are employed extensively as sieves. The use of the gourd as a sieve is very common amongst the present close neighbors of the *Boruca*, the *Talamanca* peoples.[21] For use as a sieve, the gourd is covered with holes made by a combination cutter and puncturer. This tool has a handle of pejibaye palm in one end of which a forked piece of metal with one prong longer than the other is inserted and bound by string. The longest prong is shoved into the gourd until the shortest penetrates the outer surface deeply enough to cut a line in a circle. This operation has the double effect of making a circular hole and at the same time a line design around the aperture (see figs. 7, *b*–8; 7, *c*–3). Gourds are also made into *maracas* or rattles to accompany the drum at celebrations (see p. 29). There is no rule about the decoration of the gourds. They are either left untouched, or are carved in various designs, the most popular of which is the leaf motif, although animal figures sometimes appear. The patterns are cut with a knife, and left to turn a darker color with time.

Glues. Glues are rarely used by the *Boruca*. A glue that is used for mending vessels, or, at times for water-proofing the dug-out canoes is made from a small palm (*Elaeis melanococca Gaertn.*) called in Boruca *tuskra'*, *tus*, meaning "short," and *kra'*, meaning "plant." This palm has thorny leaves and red fruit (see p. 15). To make the glue, the trunk is cut in pieces and spread out in the open so that the dew has easy access to the sap. The following morning, the residue, which is the glue, is gathered.

Pottery. Very little pottery is now being made by the *Boruca*. The European war, however, has caused iron cooking vessels to become practically unobtainable as well as prohibitive in price, and the Indians are slowly

[21] Skinner, 1920, pp. 66–67.

323 [177] reverting to make their clay cooking pots as before. There are several common pottery shapes. One kind is a large vessel with a pointed base which is slightly rounded, and a projection near the base, the neck indented, and a projecting rim. This type is called *kwarr'* in Boruca, and resembles the Spanish *tinaja*. Other forms consist of smaller vessels with rounded base and a flat protruding rim, at times with a projecting nubbin, as if an attempt to portray a head, tail, and wings, such as is encountered on the pots found in ancient graves; and sometimes the *comal* or indented clay dish which is used for frying. Plain rounded vessels, often with a thumb-nail design on the border or rim, are common for cooking.

[462] Women are the potters. The usual way of making a vessel is to mash the clay, if soft, with the hands, and if hard, with a stick, until it is fine. Then a coil is made of this clay, and the coil doubled over to give more strength to the whole. The base is started with these coils in the manner of a large tortilla, or corn cake. A rounded wooden mold is used only for the base. The clay tortilla is put in the mold and shaped to the sides. Then coils of clay are added, and the vessel grows above the mold. Smoothing and evening are done with the hands. Once completed, the pot is left from fifteen days to one month within the house to dry. The excess clay is then removed with a knife, and the vessel is polished by rubbing it all over with a seed which comes from a vine called in Spanish *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna urens* [L.] DC.). A bed of firewood is made outside the house, and the vessel is placed in the center. Firewood is stacked around the pot until it is covered. Fire is set, and the wood burns away leaving the vessel intact. When a particularly strong pot is desired, a *masa* is added. This *masa* is ground corn mixed with water to form a paste. It is put both inside and outside of the vessel at the moment it is removed from the fire, and while it is still red from the heat. After the pot is cold, the *masa* is removed.

383 314 Rubber. The use of rubber does not seem to be very ancient with the *Boruca*. The gum from the wild rubber tree which abounds in the vicinity (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) is

[p. 19-B]
occasionally used on the day-cat canes.

Miscellaneous. Candles are made from wax of the *jicote*, a wild bee, and from the wax of the wild wasps. Clothes are washed with *jaboncillo* (*Leguminosae* sp.). This is a vine which grows near the river Diquis. The roots only are used, and are cut into pieces and mashed. When mixed with water, suds are produced, and it is an effective cleansing agent. Brooms are made of fern leaves tied to wooden handles. Cocoa-butter is found in every Boruca household. The women rub it in their hair so their hair will shine. It also has a common use as a salve for certain remedies, such as boils or sores on the legs. To make the butter, the cacao bean is toasted and then boiled. The grease rises to the top, and then is skimmed off and put on a *bijagua* leaf (see p. 9), or in a gourd, to cool and to solidify. The liquid remaining in the pot is drunk. This is called *tivia* in Spanish and *kao* in the Boruca tongue.

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

moon as well as by the calendar of the *ladinos*. Most of the Indians have no conception of their age. The numeral count of these people runs from one to eight, Spanish being used for the remaining numbers. Foodstuffs are measured by hand-fulls or by gourds. There does not appear to be indigenous methods for weighing.

CYCLE

8). The end of the cord is burned with *tocolote*, the colored cotton. White cotton is not used. The cut part is buried where the child is born. In cases when the cord is slow to fall off the infant, the dust from the *bajareque* of the house wall is mixed with cinnamon and applied to the babe. After birth, the child is bathed in the liquid remaining from boiling three plants. One is a grass which grows in the savanna and is called *trik-kra'*. This is a very fine grass that has a little root resembling *tiquisqui* and yellow blossoms. The other plant grows by streams and is called *tʃu-kra'*. Pittier does not mention *trik-kra'* but cites *tsbu-krá*,[33] and gives the same use for it. Standley,[34] following Pit-

[33] Pittier, 1908, p. 93.
[34] Standley, 1937, p. 761, pt. II.

000
584 slowly disappearing. In some families, the
178 parents of the girl still arrange the match. There are, however, no exchange of presents, nor any similar ceremony, only mutual agreement. In the majority of cases, the young people decide for themselves with whom they want to live. Whether the match is pre-
583 arranged or not, a system of trial-marriage is
591 always customary. The young man moves into the house of the girl. He helps her family with work in the fields or hunting, and he lives with the girl. There is no sort of ceremony. When the couple feel contented with one another, and ready for the responsibility of their own household, they build themselves a house and leave the parental one. Nowadays,
585 when the priest appears on his bi-yearly visit, the couple frequently marries in the church, and it is quite a sight to see long-married couples with children, and who have suddenly decided to have a formal marriage ceremony, line up before the church door to be "married." On these occasions, a "marriage shawl" is sometimes used. This is a substitute for the
[177] colonial Spanish-American custom whereby the priest in Roman Catholic marriages places a gold chain over the couple. The shawl is handwoven with a white background and a few purple and red lines. The red lines are shorter and border the ends. They are woven in a diamond-shaped pattern. The present shawl is about fifty years old, and is badly eaten by moths and bugs. It is so seldom used that it will probably be permitted to fall into decay without being replaced.

837 The tribe itself is not concerned with "morality" in the western meaning. Both men and women often have a lover in addition to their spouse. Unlike the neighboring *Cavagra*, who
[184] have remained more isolated from white influence and are often blindly jealous of their women, the *Boruca* pay little attention to sexual wanderings. A man gives his love food, and nowadays, occasionally money. A woman
[848 takes her illegitimate child home to her hus-
849] band's house. The cases of illegitimate children are interesting in that a woman apparently has a child only when she wants one
586 (see p. 26). The writer could find no case of divorce in Boruca, although she was told that

[p. 22-A]

842 One of the most important functions of the witch doctor appears to be the control of birth. The *Boruca* have long been famous for having children only when they feel like it, not using an abortive, but a preventive or a provocative, as the case might be. They are very reticent [648] to admit even the existence of such a practice, however, through fear of the priest and of the Costa Rican Government, which in the past has persecuted the Talamancan peoples for this, as we shall see further on.

Both processes are brought about by taking certain liquid preparations given by the witch doctor. The sterilization process is called a *curada*, and when a woman has one or two children, the Indians say quite frankly that she is *curada*. It appears possible to be *curada* and then go to the *curandera* and become pregnant when one wants. Both remedies are drinks made from certain leaves, fungi, roots, and ferns. The sterilizing brew must be taken for fifteen days, stopped for fifteen days, and taken again for fifteen days. If badly prepared or taken too consistently without the interval in between, the drink is said to kill by causing hemorrhages. The neighbors of the *Boruca* all have, at least, the remedy to stop conception. [177] The *Térraba*[89] do not practise it so often today, as the Roman Catholic Church has apparently had more influence on them. The *Térraba* claim that their population has decreased violently since the past century because their women made themselves too sterile, and both sexes began to live together in any manner. They add that because of this, a curse has been put on them and they are dying out. It is a pity there is no census record to serve as comparative material. All of the remaining Talamanca peoples, such as the *Bribri*, the *Chirripó*, and the *Cabécares*, seem also to know this custom. In an unpublished report of Fathers Vincente Krautwog and Augustín Blessing of several trips made by them to the missions of Talamanca in the years 1894 to 1902, the originals of which are in the parochial archives in Limón, Costa Rica, the following statements are significant:

The women of the Estrella (valley) have very few children, because of certain remedies which they take

[p. 26-8]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
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Boruca

tired of playing, one of the spotted tigers killed her, and they all ate her, all of her, until not even a drop of blood was left to tell the tale. 539

The watcher was so frightened that he could not get down from the tree until the following day. The rest of the tribe also came at daybreak to find and to talk to him who had witnessed the death of the woman who because she became pregnant by her brother furnished the example for the law that whoever should copy this act would be severely punished.

THE ARTS

contact with the Chiriquíans. The *zambombia* is a hollowed stick divided inside into separate compartments. The divisions are made with pieces of the pejibaye palm. The same black seeds used in the *maracas* are put in these compartments, and the *zambombia* is moved backward and forward to produce noise. In the village there is one accordion which also is played at celebrations. 534

The music on these occasions is almost entirely copied from the Chiriquíans who in turn have received a considerable negro influence. Waltzes are also popular, and some foxtrots are heard. 533 [177]

Dancing. The *Boruca* are said to have secret dances. Their two public dances, if so they may be called, that are not copied from the Chiriquíans, are the "bullfight" and the *negritos*. The "bullfight" takes place on New Year's Day. A balsa (*Ochroma Lagopus* Sw.) mask of a huge bull's head painted in black with white lines, and with the horns and the upper part of the skull from a real bull, is put over a framework of a curved piece of wood that has a supporting wooden cross piece. This helps the whole to project from the head of the wearer in the manner of a real bull's head. The mask is usually worn by one of the young bloods of the village. Another man wears a balsa mask of one face with a little face on the chin, suggesting a dual personification (see fig. 10, *b*). These are the only two "characters." Almost all the men in the village, however, put on balsa masks of various types, some with gaily colored paper pasted on the surface, some painted, and some perfectly plain. The 535 [532]

535
[171] cluding the town of Nicoya in the peninsula of that name in Costa Rica.

The other dances which are performed in public are danced only by the younger generation. The steps are entirely borrowed from
[177] the Chiriquians, who formerly and even still inhabit much of southern Costa Rica. The favorite dances are the *cumbia*, the *punto Chiricano*, and the waltz. All of these, with the single exception of the waltz, are danced individually and not by a couple holding one another close.

525 **Games and Gambling.** The *Boruca* are not a gambling people. They appear to have no interest in any sort of gambling. Dice are almost unheard of, and perhaps one pack of cards can be found in the whole village.

524 The boys have a game called *cuepas*. This
857 is played with round pieces of bee's wax shaped almost like the cap of a pop bottle. One of these are placed face down, and a boy throws a similar piece on top of it. If the result of the impact causes both pieces to be face up, the boy who threw the *cuepa* wins, and takes the other *cuepa* as well as his own. If the result is otherwise, he loses his *cuepa*. Boys carry a ball of wax in their pockets for the express purpose of making *cuepas*.

Tops, made of wood with a nail serving as the pointed end, are also seen. They are not very popular, however.

[p. 30-B]

[pp. 31 and 32 contain no text]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962 SA19 Talamanca SA19

FOREWORD

121 101 THESE pages present the life of two indigenous groups, the Cabécares and the Bribri, who number among the first-known inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are [177] people in varied stages of acculturation, but many are now taking part in the national environment and life of the republic.

115 There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

San José, Costa Rica, 1960

[P. V]

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

101 Other Sites. There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial government in 1747.[46] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
[669] areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709,
[797] which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[177] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
[191] little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
[784] the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886, vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

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[P. 10 (A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take [10] into consideration the two geographically dis- [177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living
131 of the Talamancan people depends upon their geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged.
489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In
491 most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and
177 upper Chirripó have been isolated since con-
648 quest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

MANNER OF LIVING

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
177 German had lived in this area. The United
648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
valley for banana planting. With the advent of
[166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
[871] Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for
101 distinctions in beliefs and living habits between one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

[P. 11(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 192 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koṇ* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koṇ* or *ką́* (*ką́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [121] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *bužiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *žiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the sense of "our home."

621 361 When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of P. 11(B)--Qua/YST]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of P. 11(B)--Qua/YST]

241 462 [178] Women formerly felled trees and did as much field labor as the men. Today, however, women do not clear the forest although they do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of the range, men and women work in the fields and harvest crops.

262 241 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao, bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood when one takes into account the following advantages: they can be grown in a wide range of soils; propagate without trouble; have few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall; and are available throughout the year. The [137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow, reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or *malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott); white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).

245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round products which, once planted, do not need constant attention.

245 262 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are in production continually, assuring a permanent source of food. The *pejibaye* usually bears twice a year and requires from two to seven years of growth before producing its first crop. The value of its fruit as an element of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63] [137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red and some yellow, both with and without seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian times when they appear to have been cultivated extensively.[65] They are present at every ancient and modern indigenous site, but are not found wild in the forest.

262 241 This basic diet is supplemented with several varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137] [177] [61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Boruca are the only Costa Rican people who

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ½ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

½ [See category 116, END Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

[p. 15(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).1/4 These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 Fire-making. Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.16(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

372 [177] it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta Talamanca.

251 [243] **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are picked. [415] Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, however, [184] such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon [262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable journey. [796] In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most [574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--Gwalist]

HOUSES

342 [184] **House Types and Construction.** House types vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times 175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwelling 342 called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--Gwalist]

[361] [70] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[71] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 17(A)]
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Cabecar

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage).

[824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of

[184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of

[824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate

[177] of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubtedly, the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit
[177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large
[354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the
[574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete.
[824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof,
[824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not
[591] unusual for several families related matrilineally to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection
[177] against wind. This is a custom borrowed from the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule
[824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *carka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used
[351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

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354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*[1] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely • 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koŋ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves- [272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1 [i.e. carrying baskets – ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[291] made of vine; bark containers or *havas;* remedies in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
[415] leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves; bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers; sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers for planting.

352 513 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made by the Bribri men and used by them and the Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs of all houses and are for sleeping as well as resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves are placed on the ground by the fire and are used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding head and tail. The women sit on them while cooking, or people while talking, in order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden mixing trays or wooden mortars, *havas*, and basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), frequently lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
[824] chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to protect them from animals. Large earthen chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all the big circular houses of the Bribri and in some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves fre-
[824] quently serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
[752] used for eating from these or from a common pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
● 177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two groups are in close contact.

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
[354] sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[415] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[412] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
417 Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
342 plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
177 steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
[192] zanines which are occasionally seen in this
type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
cares, who have had less contact with non-
indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
[824] and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
[192] *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
[184] manca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
[287] ture. From the middle of the 17th century
to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 301. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri women in upper Talamanca weave brown and white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81] The art of weaving is said to have
286 been learned from the Borucas. The Bribri
177 do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are rare in the region of Talamanca but are more common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9, *d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center, braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
[301] on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons, cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as six or seven, are favorite adornments for the head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow longer than is customary among non-Indians, particularly the forelocks which are combed straight back or hang on the face untouched (fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[Text continues top of p. 20(B)--analyst]

TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[Text continues bottom of p. 20(B)--analyst]

[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.
[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.
[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ."[84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [479] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [231] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).

301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), [237] bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly [177] borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, 824 containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when [252] planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [264] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [534] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [531] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made. The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *havas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only 824 people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.
[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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802 **Numerical System.** Both the Cabécares and the Bribri use the decimal system but have a complicated method of counting, depending upon the subject and, in part, the shape under consideration. The Cabécares, furthermore, have ordinal numbers. Gabb, Theil, Pittier, and Pozas[94] have already presented in detail the principles concerned with the numeration of these Talamancan peoples. In the present account, we reiterate the major points of these authors' observations and add some minor details of our own. Gabb and Pittier devote most of their attention to the Bribri, while Pozas has concentrated on the Cabécar.

The Bribri have six ways of counting. The numeral changes slightly if the subject is a person, an animal, a house, a round object, a large object, a plant or tree. The subject always precedes the number which differs slightly depending on this. There are, however, certain subjects which are followed not only by the number but also by a suffix or a word. In Bribri, for instance, a given tree, such as the *pejibaye*, is followed by the number and by the generic name "tree." The Cabécares have the same system with slight variations. In Cabécar, in the case of a given tree, the generic term is not necessary although it sometimes occurs. The common form is a word without meaning but which appears to be euphonic and obligatory, *káte*, which precedes the numeral.

804 **Measures.** There is no given method of measure. *Havas* and baskets serve on both sides of the range. The Pacific people and those in the Talamanca Plain are also accustomed to use
●[177] the Spanish measures such as *quintal*, *cajuela*, etc., as well as their indigenous method (*see* Trade).

805 **Measurements of Time.** The year is known in both languages by the term for summer or dry season, *duwas* or *duas*. The wet season is called *kaLikeskɨ*, rain (*kaLi*) time (*keskɨ*). The yearly divisions are indicated by these two terms plus those for the changes of the moon:[95]

[94] Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1894; Pittier, 1904; Pozas, N.D.
[95] The terms given are Bribri. The same divisions are found in Cabécar, however, even though the words

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805 On the Pacific side, the school has been
192 responsible for the use of the European divi-
•177 sions.[1] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[1] [Lia: divisions of time - Analyst.]

LIFE CYCLE

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 Birth. Birth itself must take place unattended
[313] in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. The belief is that a
[826] woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any
[761] person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which
[264] must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to
[262] touch the mother. Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the
846 woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of
[824] trees, in particular that of *kaolí* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

[1] Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
[856] Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
863 crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in connection with excretion are taught practically from birth. The child is taken out of the house and held up while he does his needs. He is not allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
854 to see a mother put her arm around a son, or a father lie in a hammock with his small children beside him. Parents pay attention to personal details, such as wiping a child's nose or
24 washing its face. There are not, however, regular meal hours. One eats when there is food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
● [177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes are taught to swim and help to make fires, using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when sitting on the low benches or on the ground before the hearth. At the age of seven, they begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt, using small arrows for training. When the adults are out in the fields or hunting, children up to ten years old stay at home to tend the fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no school and all lore is learned by word of mouth on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have some connection with the handling of the dead (*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line. Often they play with mud daubers' nests or similar objects connected with their environ-
[526] ment. Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

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584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in this area when permission was denied. Then,
[583] the couple ran away to other indigenous communities of different tongues, for example, the Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

589 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple
591 live from eight days to one year in trial marriage in the house of the girl. The boy works for her family cultivating the land, chopping wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to his parents' home. He must also give the girl material for dresses which she makes into
[595] clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives a present of food or animals to the new woman's family and visits her periodically until he feels it is time to take her to his home or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against
[184] trial marriages is at times evidenced by the contemporaries of the couple, not by their
[177] elders. This is due to the influence of the school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of the boy, although this is not a set rule. The length of time they live there depends upon the father's age. However, from six to eight years is not uncommon. If the mother of the girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to live with her. If while living with either family on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not get along with the prospective in-laws, they build a house apart but close to the parents. Eventually on this site, the man builds his own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the Cabécares of a woman and two or three men living in the same house. The woman washes and cooks only when she feels like it. When she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their women to travel alone for fear they might go off with another man. When a woman leaves her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase
761 of the life cycle as far as ceremony and prestige are concerned is death. This is when social organization flanked by the unanswerable or mysterious aspects of religion combine in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

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764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The first takes place when the individual dies, and
[765] the second and most important is held about a year later and can be called a bone funeral as well as burial. During each there is a feast at which the remains of the deceased are present. It must be remembered that the basis
764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri-
614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an organization require strict adherence to one's blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore, has its own communal grave called in both languages a *pų* (*see* Funeral and Bone
764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom of a communal grave was started by the Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible for the respect given the clan. They say that the *pų* are only about 200 years old. Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined at the bottom and are covered by rough planks on top. The Bribri have a more elaborate design which includes a stone floor and a slanting wood covering which is left open at the front. It would be unpleasant to say the least to open a communal grave each time a member of the clan died. It would be worse when epidemics prevailed. The only solution then, if the society demands segregation on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury a person when there is no longer a trace of odoriferous material present, or, in other words, to bury clean bones. This is why the first step after death is to wrap the body in
[775] *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to place the package in the woods where it is well protected by briars and cut branches
765 from rapine birds and beasts. After a year, when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper authorities and a package of bones wrapped in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the clan grave where there is no risk of sin against the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has
● [177] undertaken an educational program to in-
871 corporate the Talamancans into the Costa Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A description of a Pacific burial will be given

767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where
533 they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
[775] ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
[614] journey to the other world through song. The Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbəwak*, *korrehué*, or *sinąbwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegruwák*, *síbəwak*, *bLeriwak*, and *sənítswa* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrhué*. We use *korrehué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setéšrwək*
184 in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.
[106] Gabb, 1875.
[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.
[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

[868] The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

[415] The Burier, the Organizer of Fe[illegible] and the mother were given a drink of cho[illegible] in boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burío* fiber over the leaf.

[177] An old woman, dressed in machine-made material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong.

[767] [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burío* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

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Bribri
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764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
[184] ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.

[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrás, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
● [177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hurək* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* [825] (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four [533] in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[279] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Qual/YST]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
324 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[75] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507-509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
[184] is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King" and tradition holds that there were two clans of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable. Only one clan of these remains today (*see* Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were passed from the "King" to him for decisive action. On such occasions, he retired to a secret and sacred cave which had much *pita* (*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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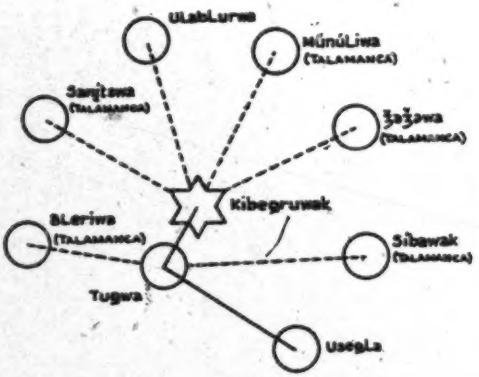
[P 36(A)]
614
582



a

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships
Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[text continues middle of P. 36(B)--final/ST]

manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan 614 177 does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

614 463 [565] Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing [117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *duriwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are 262 614 [643]

[117] The *saLuwak* and *tsirruriwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *bruparuak*.

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Bribri
Cabecar

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
● [177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text continues top of P. 41(B)--Analyst]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the nonmaterial culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to
[484] travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text continues bottom of P. 41(B)--Analyst]

[435] [141] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[140] Usually 100 pounds.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100; alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see* Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70 a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound; *pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50. Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The size of the animal determines the price of pigs and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is ₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
● 177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
484 Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from the Pacific side because the Chinese and other merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
757 behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate, chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine man's son can become one and frequently does. Study and knowledge of forest lore are requisites, and any bright boy who wants to study and has enough money or produce to pay a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

[142] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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Cabecar
Bribri

*539 614 [824] [825] *grurvák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítsrwa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruvák* clan because long ago at *sənítsrwa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] [779] [177] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 67(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Bribri

The Spider

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
825

Most spiders in Talamanca have white eggs. These symbolize the stones which *sibu* left. *sibu* blew and the spider eggs became round and white. The medicine man's best stones are round and white. The Catholic priest also must have stones as *sibu* left them for both the medicine men and the priests. Without these stones there could be no mass. The Indian's stones are more valuable because *sibu* left them first. The stones found in graves are of no use now because the people then had other medicine men.

[177]

The Whale

(*Bribri*)

The whale lived in the sky with *sibu* but he liked to go to earth to eat people. *sibu* became worried that he would do away with man so he expelled him from the sky to the sea.

The Congo Monkey and Lightning

(*Bribri*)

Lightning in the form of man went hunting and met the Congo monkey. When he went to shoot, the monkey said, "Wait while I cover myself with my hands."

Then Lightning shot and all of the monkey was blackened by this except where he had his hands which was his lower portion between his legs. This is why the Congo monkey is black all over with the exception of this white part.

Later the Congo met the jaguar. The jaguar said, "Look, you have a loud voice but not so loud."

"Say," answered the Congo monkey, "my voice is louder than yours. I am going to be in the trees and my voice has to be heard from there, so yours can't be more powerful than mine."

The jaguar replied, "No, you're wrong." And he produced a cow's horn to help his voice along.

The monkey grabbed it and carried the horn to the tree top. The jaguar remained sad.

"Now we'll see who has the loudest voice,"

*539

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

24. Good Child, a Lullaby (*Bribri*)

1. Quietly child, don't cry,
Little ugly child, sleep quietly.
What do you say now little baby?
Baby sleep, sleep quietly.

2. Sleep, you will sleep now.
What do you say oh baby, little ugly baby?
What do you say? What do you say?
Little ugly baby, what do you say today?
Oh little ugly baby, oh little baby.

3. Oh little baby, oh little ugly baby,
Sleep quietly.
Your mother went to bring flowers.
Oh little ugly baby, be quiet.
Sleep.

25. The Bird (*Bribri*)

1. Oh hawk, hawk, you hawk leave.
You go high;
There I go.
You buzzard, you dry the road.
I dry the road of the buzzard.

---

24. áLaLa buą

1. bęnét áLaLa, ké bé iųk,
aLá soLóLa, bé kapowó bęnét.
inęLa ichebo bębęLą?[247]
bębę kapotkewaLa, kapowó bęnét.

2. bé kapotkeLa, bé kapowąidir inęLa.
ichebo abębę, bębę suLóLa?
iLą ichebo? iLą ichebo?
bębę suLóLą, inęLa ichebo?
abębę suLą, abębęLą.

3. abębęLą, abębę suLóLa,
bé kapowó.
bé mamaLą[248] miąLa mamawo e-tsúk.
abębę suLą, bęnétLą.
kapotkeLawawé.

25. dú

1. airoLą, iroLą, bé iroLą ję otę.
bé-miro kabota;
ea šé miro.
bé oLó, ną́La tsių.
šé oLó ną́La tsių.

[247] This is adopted from the Spanish.
[248] This is adopted from Spanish.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. [643] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

[177] It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 628 At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the 643 648 National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148-49.